1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

571 619 621 we were unable to find a precise translation of */õassi* but think it connotes the *we* as distinct from the *they* and has an overtone of something good and safe. The phrase is an opposite of *ju dole*. *Dole* means strange or harmful or bad—evidently synonyms to the /Kung.

602 621 [608] Because there were so many kinship ties among the people and because they have a system (the name relationship—to be mentioned later) by which they apply kin terms to persons who are not consanguineous relatives or affines, I wondered for a time if we should find that the people who call themselves *ju /õassi* comprised a kin group of the type which Murdock calls a deme.[1] A deme is bilateral and endogamous, Murdock says, 'comparable to the sib both in size and in the traditional rather than demonstrable bonds of kinship which unite the members'. Though the Nyae Nyae region has the elements of a deme, I am convinced that it does not constitute, strictly speaking, an organized kin group of this type, of which the people are conscious as a social form. The endogamy of the region is customary and preferred, but not required by a social rule, and it is not from the group of people as a whole who are *ju /õassi* that social regulation derives.

Marriage regulations: the incest taboo and its expression in avoidances

582 835 Marriages are forbidden in /Kung social organization on one basis only. That basis is incest. In common with nearly all mankind (excepting, of course, the Pharaohs and a few other rare examples), the /Kung incest taboo prohibits marriage or sexual relations between Fa and Da, Mo and So, Br and Si. The incest taboo is extended beyond the nuclear family to certain additional categories of persons, and marriage with them is also rigorously forbidden by /Kung social law.

[842] The /Kung did not express the belief that in-breeding *per se* produces inferior offspring and must for that reason be avoided. Although they believe that in conception the semen unites with menstrual blood, their language does not use the image of blood as ours does. They do not think of relatives as having the same blood or any [827] physical substance in common, actually or by way of figure of speech to represent inheritable characteristics, in so far as we know, and do not think that common inheritance is somehow what makes it wrong to marry close kin.

The thought that incest has been avoided by mankind because it would be exceedingly disruptive to the internal cohesion of the nuclear family comes to the mind of the analyst of social forms but not to the minds of /Kung informants. And no mention was made of the obvious social advantage of marrying outside the nuclear family and thereby weaving a supporting web of kinship with many other families and bands.

The /Kung feel a deep, internalized, pervading horror of incest which they do not try to explain. Incest with parent, offspring, or sibling is unthinkable. 'Only dogs do that—not men.' 'It would be madness (*di*).' 'It would be dangerous, like going up to a lion.' Many refused to speak with me about such 'bad things'.

571 619 621 the Bushmen were saying of themselves, in effect, 'We are not animals, we are human beings', a connotation we did not discover in the thinking of the /Kung themselves. Ledimo, our chief interpreter, also a Chwana, said the phrase had the connotation of 'perfect persons' and that 'clean' and 'empty' were aspects of the word */õassi*, he thought. Elizabeth Marshall Thomas paraphrased it in the title of her book, *The Harmless People* (Knopf, New York; Martin Secker & Warburg, London, 1959).

[1] Murdock, op. cit., pp. 62–63.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

The /Kung extend the incest taboo to certain categories of persons outside the nuclear family because they hold that the relationships resemble the relationships of the nuclear family and that it would therefore be incestuous to unite them in marriage. A man will say explicitly that he must not marry this or that woman because it would be 'like' marrying his mother, daughter, or sister.

The sexual constraints required between persons to whom the immediate or the extended incest taboo applies find expression in the marriage regulations and, in a secondary way, I believe, in certain avoidances which express constraint, namely: (1) Sexual joking and sexual insults, which are permitted between persons who have the joking relationship and must be avoided by others. (2) A sitting taboo. The same persons who must avoid sexual joking must also avoid sitting close to each other or to each other's family fires—with two exceptions, namely: (*a*) parents and offspring, who must never make sexual jokes but who do not at any age observe the sitting taboo; and (*b*) all young children, including siblings. The /Kung believe that the persons who must observe the sitting taboo should not allow their genital organs to touch the same spot. No great distance need separate these persons when they sit. About 18 inches is a minimum but is sufficient. The taboo is applied without sex differentiation: men must not sit near men or women, or women near women or men if they do not have the joking relationship. (3)With the exception of siblings of any age, the same persons who avoid joking avoid using each other's names in direct address. They use a kin term instead or the men may use a respect term for each other—*/nau*, 'old man'. (4) Brothers and sisters do not sit near each other when they reach adolescence and, after marriage, when they have dwelling-places of their own, do not enter each other's scherms (shelters). (5) Parents and SoWi and DaHu, in addition to observing the joking, sitting, and name avoidances, do not enter each other's scherms and do not speak to each other in the first few years of their affinal relationship. They are the only persons in /Kung society who must avoid speaking together. After three children have been born, this avoidance is eased somewhat. In-laws may then speak occasionally; once in two or three days would be considered permissible. This interesting avoidance, so varied in intensity and so widely spread in human societies, appears in /Kung society to afford whatever benefits it has without imposing great hardship at any time. A daughter-in-law may lean her scherm upon her husband's parents' scherm and build her fire only about four or five feet away, and what she wants to say to her parents-in-law she says aloud to her husband or child and her parents-in-law overhear and respond in like manner. A son-in-law also could communicate in this way. I think only a /Kung or an informed observer would know that the in-laws were not speaking directly to each other.

The symbolism or expression of sexual constraint which underlies the joking and sitting avoidances is also observable in the modesty of these people. I believe that their modesty is not obedience to a specific taboo, like the sitting taboo, but is a more general response to being constantly in the presence of persons to whom the incest taboo applies, before whom any expression of sex would be improper. The general demeanour of the /Kung is modest. The dancing, if it gives any expression at all to sexuality or eroticism, conveys it with such restraint and delicacy as to be in extreme contrast to the dancing of the neighbouring Bantu tribes. Both men and women among the /Kung are exceedingly modest about exposing their genital

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

834 organs and, though the women's breasts are naked (breasts are associated with
[831] nursing, not sex), the women would not expose their buttocks, which are definitely associated with sex, as the position for sexual intercourse is for the man to be at the back of the woman. When they urinate or defecate, men, women, and all but young
[514] children who are not yet toilet trained go away from the werf and squat behind bushes or in the tall grass out of sight.

The persons who express in the avoidances the sexual constraint required by the
602 incest taboo are none the less free to engage in other activities of life together.
835 Whether or not they must avoid joking and sitting near each other, whether or not they may marry, they may talk (except with SoWi or DaHu), hunt, share meat, share the water-hole, gather plant foods, cook, eat, make journeys, visit, exchange gifts, and, if they wish, huddle their scherms and fires together. And, although they must not direct sexual jokes or insults to each other, they may laugh as heartily when they overhear the jokes as relatives do who have the joking relationship together.

Because it is interesting to compare the pattern of the joking relationship with the pattern of marriage regulation, I have indicated it when I list the various categories of persons with whom marriage is forbidden or allowed.

Extension of the incest taboo to four categories

Marriage regulations, patterned upon the incest taboo as it applies in the relation-
582 ships of the nuclear family, and extended to certain other relationships because they
835 are considered to be like those of the nuclear family, forbid ego's marriage with four categories of persons, as follows: (1) members of the nuclear family and certain other consanguineous relatives; (2) certain affines; (3) step-parents, stepchildren, stepbrothers, stepsisters, and the close kin of ego's father's wife other than his mother (for example, ego's mother's co-wife's sister, who is 'like' his MoSi; (4) certain name relatives.

Category 1: ego's consanguineous relatives with whom marriage is forbidden

582 In Fig. 2 are listed the consanguineous relatives whom a /Kung must not marry.
602 The terms applied to them are given in their basic form only, all complicating
835 factors being omitted as they have no bearing on marriage regulations. The term which ego applies to the male in a given category appears first; the term applied to females follows. The joking status is indicated by 'yes' if ego has the joking relationship with the given category of relatives, 'no' if he has not.

The /Kung use the expression 'We are one people' when they refer to certain consanguineous relatives—e.g. any lineal kin and the close collaterals listed in Fig. 2—but they do not consider siblings of grandparents, fourth cousins or still more remote collaterals as being of 'one people' with themselves. The /Kung, who are capable of being pushed to logical conclusions by an interrogator, say that they recognize a degree of consanguinity among such collaterals but spoke of them as
[553] 'those people'. 'Those people would name their children for their own people', they said, for example. 'We name our children for our people.'

I made considerable effort to determine whether or not I should include third
[605] cousins as within 'one people'. Many of the informants from whom we gathered genealogical data did not know the names of their third cousins, but, when we estab-

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

582
602
835
[605]

lished the definition, with sticks and diagrams in the sand and the names of some actual people, ≠Toma, the leader of the band we lived with, insisted that third cousins were ' one's own people '. We ' red people ' might marry our own third cousins, he said, but Bushmen would know that they were one people and should not marry.

[601]

FIG. 2. *Consanguineous relatives whom ego must not marry*

	Male	*Female*	*Joking*
Great-grandparents	*tsu*	*//ga*	no
Grandparents	*/gu/na*	*tiin*	yes
Parents	*ba*	*dai*	no
Siblings of parents	*tsu*	*//ga*	no
Siblings	*/go*	*/kwi*	yes, same sex no, opp. sex
Cousins, 1st, 2nd, 3rd	*/gu/na*	*tiin*	yes
Offspring	*/ka*	*≠ khai*	no
Nephews, nieces	*tsu*	*//ga*	no
Grandchildren	*/gu/na*	*tiin*	yes
Great-grandchildren	*tsu*	*//ga*	no

The kin who are likened, by being of the same generation, to his parents, to his offspring, and to his siblings, are those to whom a /Kung feels the marriage regulations are particularly directed. Siblings of parents are ' like ' parents, cousins are ' like ' siblings, nephews and nieces are ' like ' offspring. Marriage with all these is rigorously forbidden.

Ego's marriage with great-grandparents, grandparents, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren is also forbidden but is not a concern. Age and consanguinity combine to push the very thought virtually out of mind. To the /Kung it seemed utterly ridiculous of me to inquire even about the collaterals in these generations. ' Those old people are already dead ', said someone. ' It will be for my grandson to mind the rules when the young children grow up ', said ≠Toma in effect. ' It is not my wish to marry a baby.'

Category 2: affines

The second category of persons to whom the incest taboo is extended is composed of certain affines. Their affinal relationship is considered to be indissoluble once it is established, and ego's marriage with them is prohibited, even though the person through whom the affinal relationship with ego is brought about be dead or divorced. The thought of incestuous relations with at least some of these affines (especially parents of spouse and spouses of offspring) is as horrifying to a /Kung as if they were members of his nuclear family. We learned of no instances of the taboo being broken among them.

The affines with whom marriage is forbidden, who correspond terminologically with ego's parents' generation, ego's own and that of his offspring, are listed in Fig. 3. Joking is allowed or not as it is with ego's kin in these generations.

Parents of ego's SoWi and DaHu are terminologically of ego's generation and he may joke with them but he must not marry them, for that would make his So and SoWi or Da and DaHu stepbrother and stepsister to each other, which would be most awkward.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

582 Why marriage is prohibited with HuBrSo and WiSiDa was explained by ≠Toma.
602 Marriages with HuBr or WiSi are highly preferred marriages. This makes ≠Toma
835 'feel like' his WiSiHu, he said, even though he is not married to her, and, as a result, his WiSiDa seems to him like his own daughter.

FIG. 3. *Affines*

[601]

Marriage forbidden	*Male*	*Female*	*Joking*
Parents of ego's spouse	*≠tum*	*/utzu*	no
Spouses of FaBr, FaSi, MoBr, MoSi	*tzu*	*/ga*	
SiHuFa w.s., BrWiMo m.s.	*tzu*	*/ga*	
(Ego's generation terminologically) Parents of SoWi, DaHu	*/umba*	*/undai*	yes
Spouses of So and Da	*≠tum*	*/utzu*	no
HuBrSo, WiSiDa	*tzu*	*/ga*	

[587] Marriage with a BrWiMo or SiHuFa seems improper to the /Kung because a man's marriage with his BrWi is highly preferred, as is a woman's with a SiHu (should the death of the spouse or divorce make their marriage possible), and the parents of these affines therefore seem 'like' parents of the spouse.

In the sibling category among affines ego is prohibited from marrying only WiBrWi or HuSiHu. The reason for this prohibition appears to lie in the consistency of the joking pattern, about which three more points must be made. First, throughout

FIG. 4. *Marriage forbidden with WiBrWi, HuSiHu*

Male ego	*Joking*	*Female ego*	*Joking*
Br and BrWi	yes	Br and BrWi	no
Si and SiHu	no	Si and SiHu	yes
WiSi and WiSiHu	yes	HuBr and HuBrWi	yes
WiBr and WiBrWi	no	HuSi and HuSiHu	no

the whole system (except among remote name relatives), ego maintains the same joking status with *both* members of a married couple, for example, with FaBr and FaBrWi, WiSi and WiSiHu, &c. Secondly, in the differentiation of sex between siblings among ego's affines with respect to the joking relationship, the point of reference is the spouse. Ego has the joking relationship with his own spouse and with the sibling of his spouse who is the same sex as his spouse. He avoids joking with his spouse's sibling whose sex is opposite to his spouse. Thirdly, among affines in the sibling category the extended incest taboo and the avoidances coincide. Sex permitting, if ego may joke he may marry, and if he avoids joking he is prohibited from marrying. As we list ego's siblings and affines in Fig. 4 we see that WiBrWi and HuSiHu are the only ones whose sex is opposite to ego's, making marriage possible, but with whom ego is constrained from joking because he does not joke with his WiBr or HuSi, according the same joking status to both members of a married couple.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Categories 3 and 4: step-parents, &c; name relatives

The third category to which the incest taboo is extended, step-parents, &c., needs no elucidation.

The fourth category, certain name relatives, should be further described. The name relationship, described in the paper on kin terminology,[1] is connected with a system of naming children. The /Kung have no surnames. A /Kung father invariably names his first-born son or daughter for his parent of the same sex; usually the second-born for the parent of the child's mother; subsequent children for his own sibling or the sibling of the child's mother or the spouses of those siblings. He never names a child for himself or for the child's mother. Because this pattern of naming exists, the /Kung feel that if two non-consanguineous persons have the same name, they are likely to have had consanguineous connexions in the forgotten past, and from this concept the /Kung have developed what we called their name relationship. In a system too complex to summarize here they apply kin terms to persons on the basis of their names.

The names have passed from family to family, through intermarriage in the region, and from generation to generation, to such an extent that every /Kung of the region whom we interrogated on the subject had a kin term for every other /Kung, except for one man who had once met four /Kung from afar for whom he had no terms. This had made him uneasy.

The /Kung welcome the sense of belonging to an in-group which the name relationship affords them. They welcome also the fact that they know how to behave with people with respect to the avoidances. They fear (*koa*) to make a mistake about joking and sitting, they say, and feel secure in righteousness and propriety when they know what behaviour is correct and conform to it. The kin terms sort out the whole /Kung population of the region for them. They avoid joking with name relatives whose names classify them with kin or affines of the generation of parents, or with offspring or with a sibling of opposite sex or with great-grandparents. They may joke with name relatives whose names classify them with grandparents, a sibling of the same sex, or the spouse. (Cf. Figs. 2 and 3.)

The incest taboo is extended to name relatives. If ego is forbidden to marry them because of the way their names classify them, he also does not joke with them. But, as we shall see when we consider approved marriages, the system does not maintain perfect consistency between joking and marriage among name relatives, and it does not follow that if ego must not joke he therefore must not marry. The incest taboo is extended specifically to the following name relatives: (1) anyone who has the name of ego's parent or offspring; (2) the parent, offspring or sibling of opposite sex of anyone who has the same name as ego, (3) anyone who has the same name as ego's spouse's parent or his offspring's spouse. ≠Toma explained that it would 'sound as though' one had married his parent, child, or one of these close affines.

Deviations from the rules

The /Kung conform strictly to their marriage regulations in the first two categories, kindred and affines. None of the persons whose genealogical records we

[1] Marshall, op. cit., pp. 13–15, 22–23.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Approved marriages

No marriages are compulsory in /Kung society. 582

Marriage is allowed with anyone to whom the incest taboo is not extended—with three degrees of approval: preference, permission, and toleration. Once a marriage has taken place, no differentiation in status is made. 602

The joking relationship is the differentiating factor between the preference and mere permission which the society accords. In preferred marriages the man and woman are name relatives who have had the joking relationship before marriage and have applied to each other the terms */gu|na* and *tũn*. This makes the marriage seem altogether right.

Marriage is permitted between name relatives who apply the terms *tsu* and *||ga* to each other and avoided joking before marriage, provided the incest taboo is not specifically extended to them; and, in the same way, marriage is permitted between name relatives who apply to each other the terms */go*, brother, and */kwi*, sister.

Marriage is tolerated, though rarely experienced, as I mentioned before, with persons to whom the name relationship and the application of kin terms is not extended; i.e. persons of other races, persons of other Bushman language groups, or other /Kung outside the region.

To contract a marriage with someone with whom one must not joke brings in a touch of the anomalous which deprives the /Kung of the perfect symmetry and consistency which so content them and make them feel secure in rightness. This society tolerates the anomaly, for obviously it must not forbid marriage in too many categories, and adjusts the joking status by giving to man and wife the joking relationship as soon as marriage takes place. 182 183 582 593 602

Though neither the sororate nor the levirate is compulsory, marriage is highly approved with the wife of a deceased brother or the husband of a sister. A man is expected to take care of his BrWi should she need his care, even though he is not required to marry her. Marriage with a WiSi or HuBr is also highly approved. Ego has had the joking relationship with these affines. 587 768

A marriage arrangement which the /Kung consider especially good is called */oa ku*. This means that an exchange is made between two bands: a boy and girl from one marry a girl and boy from the other. */Oa ku* is not a common practice. Bands as units have no authority in the arrangements of marriages, which is the duty of the parents, as we shall describe presently, and parents do not make the exchange between bands a major factor in their choices. If it happens to come about, however, the people are glad because each band thereby gains a person to replace the person lost and the bonds between the bands are strengthened. 583 619 [584]

Polygynous marriages

Polygyny is the ideal form of marriage among the /Kung. This is not a society in which prestige and wealth concentrate to give certain categories of men more power or right than others to acquire wives. Headmen and medicine men are held in esteem, but their positions do not in themselves entitle them to have extra wives or give them special dispensations. Wealth tends to be fairly well equalized. Everyone carries his or her own artifacts, the men on carrying-sticks over their shoulders, the women 595 554 556 [422] [482]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

585 [159] [183] then come with us when we leave tomorrow tó gather *tsi*. He will hunt from that place and get us some meat.'

The ritual elements in the wedding ceremony, in so far as we observed, were as follows: (1) carrying the bride so that her feet do not touch the ground; (2) covering her head so that the sun does not shine upon it; (3) waiting till the sun has set before taking her to the wedding scherm; (4) the fact that the scherm is specially built and set apart from the others; (5) anointing with fat; (6) painting a design on the forehead and cheeks with powdered red stone; (7) lighting the wedding fire with brands from the fires of the bride's and groom's parents.

585 881 [174] Apart from the third and seventh, all these elements occur also in the Ceremony of the First Menstruation, a more elaborate and prolonged ceremony from which the /Kung wedding ceremony undoubtedly derives. The design on the face is the same; the girl's feet must not touch the ground from the instant her first menstruation begins to the end of the period, when she is washed and anointed with both eland or other fat and the oil of the *tsi* (*Bauhinia esculenta* Burch).[1] When the girl is taken to her special scherm or moved out of it to urinate or defecate she is carried on the back of a kinswoman. A kaross over her head shields her from the sun whether she is sitting in the scherm or being carried out.

Our endeavour to bring to light the meaning of the ritual elements yielded little. The meaning or origin of the design on the face, I was convinced, was not withheld but lost to memory, lore or myth. 'It is our custom' was all the people could tell me.

[171] About the ritual of the feet not touching the ground, the custom frequently observed by divine kings and menstruating girls, the /Kung had no more illumination. They think that the carrying is the overcoming of the girl's symbolized modesty about going to the arms of her bridegroom, which she should properly feign even if she is eager to go, and her reluctance to separate from her own family: I think that when the attendants take hold of the bride and groom by the arm and pull them a little they symbolize the overcoming of reluctance and modesty and perhaps there is even a vestige of bride capture in that gesture, but of the feet not touching the ground the meaning is lost. Obviously, however, in this society the bride is equated to the [174] menstruating girl. In the past the girl's wedding and her first menstruation may have been celebrated at one time.

585 821 The /Kung say that the sun is death-giving. When the three months of life-giving rains are past, the sun dries up the water pools. It kills the fresh leaves and fruits, dries the roots and berries, and would scorch the people if they did not find shade and dig shallow pits and lie in them covered lightly with sand which they have moistened with their urine for coolness. They pity the morning star, the *kuli |gaishay*, which crosses the sky all day ahead of the sun, has no branches to carry for shade and cannot turn aside to rest under a tree. The sun is a 'death thing' and the bride 593 585 is shielded from it.

602 The most important element of behaviour with respect to kinship in the wedding

[113] [1] Robert Story, *Some Plants Used by the Bushmen in Obtaining Food and Water*, Department of Agriculture, Division of Botany, Union of South Africa, Botanical Survey, Memoir No. 30, 1958, p. 25. Dr. Story was a member of the 1955 and 1957 expeditions. We gratefully acknowledge whatever botanical identifications we mention as his.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

ceremony is the avoidance of the parents, which is symbolic of the incest taboo. Any (preferably young) kinswoman who is tall enough and strong enough, whether she herself is married or not, and whether or not she has the joking relation with the bride, may carry the bride; and any may attend her. Only the mother absolutely must not do so. Likewise the groom's father must not attend him. Neither pair of parents go to sit by the wedding fire, for they must not sit near their son's wife or daughter's husband, nor speak to them. Guests of mature years might go and sit by the wedding fire only if they have the joking relationship with both the bride and the groom. Very young guests, such as we saw at /Nai's and /Gunda's fire, may go, whether they joke or not with the bride and groom, because the avoidances are not stringently observed with young children.

Termination of marriage and remarriage

Widows and widowers are not avoided in any special way because of their widowhood.

If her husband dies, a young widow usually returns to her own parents or lives with one of her own siblings, but, if her people are dead, or if it is her preference, she may stay on with her deceased husband's people. It is the duty of her HuBr to hunt for her if she needs his support.

Several possibilities are open to a young widower: rarely he might stay with his deceased wife's parents or siblings; more likely he would return to his own parents or siblings; and, when he marries again, he goes into matrilocal residence with the new bride. In any case, a man is responsible for his wife's parents and young siblings, and, if they depended on him for support, he would take them with him. They would be likely to prefer, however, to live with an adult son, daughter, or sibling of their own if they had any.

Old widowers or widows whose own parents are dead usually live with either a son or daughter, or perhaps with their own sibling—as they wish.

The surviving spouse is free to marry again within the regulations of the extended incest taboo, which applies to all marriages.

Parents would arrange the subsequent marriage of a widowed boy or girl. Adults may make their own arrangements directly. My impression was that persons might be considered fully adult somewhere in their middle or late twenties.

An adult man takes the initiative and asks the woman to marry him. Robert Dyson in the 1951 expedition learned that one way for a man to ask a woman to marry him is to present her with a bow and arrow. If she accepts it she indicates her willingness to consider his suit.

No restriction of time is put upon the remarriage of a widower, but a widow should not remarry until one rainy season has passed. She is then considered 'clean' and may marry again. ≠Toma said, 'The rain washes (*//num*) the death away from the widow.' *//Num* is the gesture of wiping a dish with one finger and then licking the finger. /Ti/kay of Band 9 said that some men wait for a rainy season to pass, but that others would be pleased the husband was dead and, without waiting, say, 'This is my chance.' One interpreter understood that the widow had to take off her kaross and spend a night out, letting the rain fall on her, but ≠Toma said this was not what

/155 cont./

628 unable to learn whether these obligations also extend to more distant degrees of kinship.

If the murderer himself has died or cannot be reached, blood vengeance extends to his nearest male relatives.

The sons of a murdered man are obligated to take blood revenge as soon as they are grown.

The mother of the future avenger inculcates this duty in her [867] son as she rears him. As soon as the young man has killed the [884] first piece of game, his obligation goes into effect. He turns [602] to his kinsmen for help, which is immediately granted him. Similarly, the one who has reason to fear blood vengeance finds armed support among his relatives and fellow villagers. One can imagine what a maze of obligations for blood vengeance can arise from this situation.

619 It can happen that two settlements are "saddled" with so
628 many obligations for vengeance that an encounter between members of these settlements immediately leads to bloodshed. Perhaps this also helps to explain the fact that some villages within the Auin region have for many years been so hostile to one another that a boundary violation is punished by death on the spot.

Example: Auin from Rietfontein and Gam. It goes without saying that a mortal enmity more often exists between Bushmen of different languages, for instance, between Auin and Naroon, or Auin and Genkuin [Ginkwe]. An enmity of this kind evidently does not extend to the group as a whole; instead, it is doubtless always confined to a certain number of families and settlements.

628 The basis for the administration of justice is extensive and energetic self-help. Any injustice inflicted is avenged by the injured party or his kinsmen with a beating or murder.

As an example of the kind of self-help and the complications resulting from it, I shall cite the following authenticated case. An old Auin from Olifantskluft was visiting his brother-in-law in Sidonitzaub. The host set a snare and caught a giant bustard which the guest found, took out of the snare, and began to consume. His host arrived on the scene and stabbed his brother-in-law in the stomach with his throwing spear. The murderer fled, but he was apprehended and shot by relatives of

[21 cont.]

157 them thought of asking a question about it. The Bushmen of today at least do not believe that any kind of magic is concealed [177] in the Europeans' machines. They learn to use European instruments fairly quickly; in particular, they soon become familiar with the rifle. Dornan reported that there was a large number of improvised rifles that the Bushmen had adapted. In a new environment, the Bushman is wholly self-possessed and coolly observant. He is highly adaptable. The girls, of whom a number are kept by farmers as concubines, are quite skillful at [648] housekeeping. In Ovamboland they quickly adopt the living [177] habits and economic activities of the Bantu. An Ongandjera Bushman acts as an instructor at the teacher's college in Oonipa. He owns a small kraal that is well-maintained in Ovambo fashion and, in addition, has built himself a round hut of tiles in which he keeps his "library." They seldom stay long on the farms, but [648] probably in the main because the food does not agree with them. [147] The Bushmen are most distrustful of other people. Every armed 609 person whom they encounter is regarded from the outset as an enemy. The Bushman is allowed to enter the regions of other tribes only if he is unarmed. Even along the edge of the farm zone the mutual distrust is so great that a Bushman who has been sent to a farm as a messenger dares not leave the road, which is regarded as a neutral zone, if another kin group has settled in the vicinity. If two armed Bushmen who are strangers approach each other, they disarm at first sight before they greet each other. When a Bushman comes to a village or to a farmhouse, he will put down his arms at a certain distance and sit down to wait patiently, if need be for hours, until he is questioned. A 186 distinct sense of race is not apparent. Everything that does not 609 belong to one's own kin group is regarded as strange, even hostile, except when common persecution causes a sense of solidarity to spring up among all those who are persecuted. At the same time, they very clearly possess a kind of sense of humanity as a whole, that is, they do not believe that they are the only people, and they are convinced, for example, that the people of all races are received in the heavenly house. Their 602 conduct toward relatives is regulated by numerous customs, but in general it is formal and almost ceremonial, even toward the [593] wife and children. The Bushman is never importunate. [157]

MASARWA OR OVONGGO BUSHMEN

[64 cont.]

000 the beyond one acts the same as on this earth. Like the Namib
769 Bushmen, they throw little stones on the graves and at the same time pray that the spirit of the deceased may bring them luck (Dornan, op. cit., p. 146).

787 Conceptions concerning dreams are tied in with the Lulu
[774] doctrine of conscience. In a dream the other self speaks with the dreamer, and this may be good or bad. The other self may be influenced by enemies and thus do harm to the twin soul.

According to Dornan, the Bantu adopted the oracle sticks from the Bushmen. Every Masarwa carries four or five pieces with him. The female pieces are longer and narrower than the
[825] male pieces. They are made from the hoofs of small mammals,
[824] from wildebeest bones, and fruit kernels. The names of the four sticks are: Chowe, Kao, Daua, Gaichwe. The Masarwa believe
[776] that [65] Thora and Huwe, and perhaps also Khauma, speak through these bones, and Mackenzie (1) states that the Bushmen

[113] 1. Ten Years North of the Orange River, p. 136.

had designated these bones as morimo aa'me (things of God).

The shoulderblade of the springbok is also used for divination by the Masarwa.

606 Among the Masarwa the mother-in-law may not look at
551 her son-in-law and may not mention his name. The wife may say
602 neither the name of her husband nor the names of his relatives.

Finally, concerning the Swamp Bushmen of the Okovonggo
105 delta, J. Seiner reports:
101 "The Tannekwe have summer and winter villages, as well as boats and goats, and engage in agriculture, fishing, and hunting.
[563] The latter occupations are practiced by the pure Bushmen, whereas half-breeds and the pure Mambukuschu, who were stolen as children and reared by the Bushmen, occupy themselves with agriculture and subordinate tasks.

"The number of racially pure Bushmen among the Tannekwe
[144] may be as high as 60 per cent, but as a result of the slight increase of true Bushmen, which they try to equalize by stealing the Mambukuschu children, they are undergoing a steady decrease, AND RACIAL MIXTURE IS PROGRESSING RAPIDLY,

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

test this factor and eventually we learned that there are two aspects to the /Kung system of kin terminology. In one terms are applied according to the biological position of the persons; in the other terms are applied because persons are classified with others by having the same names, in ways this paper will explain. The factor of the name has resulted in kin terms being applied by persons who have no consanguineous or affinal ties, but who are considered to be related through the factor of the name in what we call the name-relationship.

Miss Bleek in her paper on 'Bushman Terms of Relationship'[1] has recorded /Kung terms. Students of the subject interested in comparing her paper with this will find them in agreement to a considerable extent, but Miss Bleek's paper does not go so deeply into the terminology as this does nor does it bring out the significance of the factor of the name.[2]

Our material on /Kung kin terminology is presented in two parts. (I) The first part (A) deals with terms applied to consanguineous kin, and explains the factor of the name and the way the application of terms is extended through the factor of the name to persons who have no consanguineous or affinal ties, in what we call the name-relationship; and (B) deals with terms applied to affines. (II) The second part deals with certain aspects of behaviour related to kin terminology, touching briefly upon marriage prohibitions and preferences from the point of view of terminology. It deals more fully with the joking relationship, an aspect of behaviour which relates closely to terminological categories. The paper finally touches upon the way the name-relationship serves as an amalgamating factor within a whole region among people who have no larger organized social units than autonomous bands, small ones of 10–15 persons up to large ones of 40–60 persons, composed of consanguineous kin and their affines.

Space does not permit here a description of the composition of bands, but we hope in a future publication to give data on the family and bands, on hunting and veldkos territories, marriage, residence, settlement patterns, and on the behaviour among kin in forming hunting and gathering parties, arrow-lending, meat-sharing, gift-giving, &c.

[1] D. F. Bleek, 'Bushman Terms of Relationship', *Bantu Studies*, vol. ii (1923–6), pp. 57–70.

[2] Miss Bleek (ibid.) sometimes gives the descriptive phrase in place of, or in addition to, the term, as if we should say father's brother or mother's brother instead of uncle. For instance, *ka siy* is a descriptive phrase meaning father's younger brother or younger sister. There are differences of spelling. We should like to follow Miss Bleek's spelling, but we put down as best we could what we heard and cannot change over to her spelling because in the different areas the Bushmen's pronunciation may possibly have varied slightly. There are some terms given by Miss Bleek which we did not hear in the Nyae Nyae region. The /Kung of Nyae Nyae do not use the term *tsaw* for Br. We did not hear *||ge*, nor *soig||ge*, nor *tsa* as a prefix to *siy*. Otherwise the terms we record are recognizable as the same terms which Miss Bleek records. Miss Bleek, on the other hand, does not record all the terms which we record as used in the Nyae Nyae area. The principal difference lies, we think, in her not taking into account the factor of the name. We think she had an inkling of there being such a factor among the /Kung she worked with, for she says they had a word */kx* which she thought meant 'kinsman' or 'namesake'. In any case, she does not show all the terms which in the Nyae Nyae region might be applied to grandparents, grandchildren and collaterals on both the paternal and maternal sides. A detailed comparison of the papers would show several examples, but one will suffice to illustrate the point. Miss Bleek records the terms for FaBr, *tsu*, and MoBr, *tsow||ga*, giving the impression that the /Kung system makes a terminological distinction between the paternal and maternal siblings, whereas we found that in the Nyae Nyae area both terms, *tsu* and *tsow||ga*, might be used for either FaBr or MoBr, and, besides, that the sibling term, elder Br, might also be used for FaBr or MoBr, as will be explained.

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

601 and most of the persons who eventually become his secondary affines would be name-relatives. They keep whatever term they had and add */umba* or */undai*. Theoretically, if they should not have a name-relationship they would fall back on the generational method.

When terms are applied to secondary affines by the generational method, the primary affine is the point of reference. Ego applies a term to the parent or child of the primary affine which is in the alternate generation terminologically to that of the primary affine. A term in the same generation terminologically as that of the primary affine is applied to the sibling of the primary affine. The list of terms on p. 16 shows the correspondence of the generational terms with the affinal terms. Diagram 8 (p. 17) illustrates this situation.

Consanguineous relatives of ego's may be named for secondary affines as well as primary affines. When they are, ego applies to them the same term which he applies to the secondary affine but drops */umba* and */undai*.

All relatives to whom the generational and sibling terms are applied, except name-relatives (see p. 15), have terms applied to their spouses by ego which are paired with the generational and sibling terms as listed below.

Generational or sibling term for males	*Spouse*	*Generational or sibling term for females*	*Spouse*
tsu	//ga or /utsu (//ga is preferred for FaBrWi or MoBrWi; /utsu is preferred in other relationships)	//ga or di/guma	tsu or tun/ga m.s. (tsu is preferred for FaSiHu and MoSiHu; tun/ga is preferred in other relationships)
/gu/na	tũn	tũn	/gu/na or tun/ga w.s.
tun/ga w.s. when collateral	tũn w.s.	/gu/na w.s.	tun/ga w.s.
when affine	/kwi w.s.		
/go or tsi	tũn m.s. /utsu w.s.	/kwi or tsi	tun/ga

Part II: Some Aspects of Behaviour as Related to Categories of Kin

Marriage

842 The /Kung know that biological descent is from the father and mother, believing that the father's semen unites with the menstrual blood of the mother to form the
●602 child. But their language does not emphasize the concept of blood as ours does. A /Kung speaks of a person who has blood ties with himself as being of his own people, emphasizing the phrase in some way, as when we say ' very own '.

582 Marriage with any consanguineous kin is forbidden in /Kung culture. This pro-
684 hibition is quite strictly obeyed. The very thought of marriage with a parent, offspring or sibling is horrifying to the /Kung. They could hardly be brought to talk about such ' bad things '. They told us about a man who married a woman and her

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

daughter at the same time. Although he had blood ties with neither, this was analogous to marrying a daughter and it was thought the man must be mad to do so. Informants said specifically that /Kung do not marry uncles or aunts because they are 'like' parents. Cousins, they say, are 'like' siblings and nephews and nieces 'like' offspring. Marriage with any of these would be shocking.

In the genealogies of about 175 /Kung of the Nyae Nyae region there is no instance of marriage among any of the above-mentioned relatives. However, we heard of two first-cousin marriages among some distant /Kung.

A /Kung must not marry a person who has the same name as his parent. In the two instances we know where this rule was broken the people lied, admitting it only after someone else told us about it. A man must not marry a woman to whom he applies the term */utsu* (this seems to be regarded as a particularly stringent prohibition), nor may a woman marry a man she terms ≠*tum*. We know a man who broke this rule. His marriage with his */utsu* caused a scandal which was still reverberating after two years.

The preferred marriage among /Kung is with a non-consanguineous name-relative whom ego terms */gu/na* (or *tun/ga* w.s.) or *tũn* m.s. SiHu and HuBr are both termed *tun/ga* w.s. and BrWi and WiSi are termed *tũn* m.s. These are considered desirable marriages, especially the sororate, but neither the sororate nor the levirate is obligatory.

Marriages with persons termed */umba* or */undai* are not forbidden. Persons who use the terms *tsu* and *//ga* for each other may marry unless one has the name of the other's parent. Persons who use the sibling terms may marry. These marriages, though not forbidden, are not preferred.

There is no category of persons with whom sexual intercourse is permitted by /Kung custom except the spouse. If illicit sexual intercourse is indulged in, it is carefully concealed.

The Joking Relationship

The joking relationship is an important element in /Kung culture. It is in the foreground of people's minds. The /Kung never once mentioned the generational aspect of their kin terminology system but whenever kinship matters were discussed they spoke of the joking relationship. The /Kung do not train their children to know the precise genealogical position of collaterals,[1] but they teach them the term to use and the joking status of the term. Sometimes an informant would not know whether, for instance, a relative he termed *tsu* was his FaBr, his MoBr or who, but would say that his parents taught him to use that term for the relative and that he must not joke with him.

The joking relationship creates a dichotomy which divides consanguineous kin, affines, and name-relatives into two groups. Every kinship term is associated with a joking status and the culture either allows ego to joke or prohibits him from joking with every person to whom he applies a kinship term.

[1] As to lineal kin, all our informants knew the precise genealogical position and names of their grandparents and grandchildren but many did not know the names of their great-grandparents. (We did not meet any /Kung who had a great-grandchild.)

601 The sibling category is divided on the basis of sex. Ego jokes with a sibling of
602 the same sex as his own and is prohibited from joking with a sibling of opposite
[593] sex. This creates a 'cross' and 'parallel' pattern which is observed in the use of the terms, man-speaking and woman-speaking, among persons classified by name with siblings and among affines of the sibling category.

Sex is not the differentiating factor with respect to the joking relationship among groups of kin apart from siblings. All other consanguineous kin, affines, and name-relatives are grouped in the joking or non-joking dichotomy according to their categorical classification, as follows:

Ego has the joking relationship with anyone of either sex who is classified with himself or herself, to whom ego applies the term */gu/na* (or *tun/ga* w.s.) or *tũn*. Consanguineous kin may be so classified by generation (i.e. cousins) as shown in Diagram 1, or by the factor of the name, i.e. the person for whom ego is named or persons named for ego. Ego has the joking relationship with grandparents and grandchildren unless the factor of the name places ego terminologically in the other, non-joking, division. Among affines, ego has the joking relationship with his or her spouse, and
607 also with BrWi and WiSi, *tũn* m.s., and SiHu and HuBr, *tun/ga* w.s., who are all considered suitable persons to marry. Ego may joke with affines termed */umba* and */undai*, who are in ego's generation terminologically as they are his offspring's spouses' parents. Persons named for any of the above affines would be termed */gu/na* (or *tun/ga* w.s.) or *tũn* by ego and ego could joke with them. He could joke also with any name-relatives to whom he applies these terms.

603 Joking is prohibited with parents and offspring of either sex and with anyone of either sex who is classified with them by being of the same generation, when the generational method of applying terms is used, or by being named for them, when the homonymous method of applying terms is used; or with name-relatives classified in this category. Joking is also prohibited with affines associated with this category, i.e. parents of spouse, and spouses of offspring. The terms which are associated with the non-joking status are the parent–child terms, and *tsu*, *||ga* or *di/guma*, and the affinal terms, *≠tum*, *tun/ga* m.s. and */utsu*.

When informants were trying to explain the joking relationship to us they had an additional statement to make about the prohibition of joking. They said that, as they must not joke with their parents or offspring, in like manner they must not joke with a person and the offspring of that person. This concept is doubtless associated with the generational method of applying terms. It is not thought to be a contradiction or inconsistency to joke both with a person and the offspring of that person when the homonymous method of applying terms is followed. When a person is named for another his biological position is disregarded and he is terminologically classified with the person for whom he is named. The homonymous method is never applied nor the biological position disregarded in the nuclear family or among primary affines.

Joking, of course, is always reciprocal; if ego may joke with A, A may joke with ego. If B is named for A, the term which ego applies to B always has the same joking status as the term he applies to A. Ego's joking status is the same with both persons of a married couple (cf. p. 18), except in the case of name-relatives with whom he assumes his status individually (cf. p. 15).

The following table gives the joking status of each term. 601 602

Consanguineous kin			*Affines*	
Ego's generation and alternate generations				
Joking permitted				
(Ego)			Hu	/hoa
Anyone termed:	/gu/na		Wi	tsau
	tun/ga	w.s.	DaHuFa, SoWiFa	/umba
	tũn		DaHuMo, SoWiMo	/undai
			Anyone termed:	/gu/na-/umba
				tun/ga-/umba w.s.
				tũn-/undai
Generations adjacent to ego's				
Joking prohibited				
Fa	ba		HuFa, WiFa, DaHu	ǂtum
Mo	dai		HuMo, WiMo, SoWi	/utsu
So	/ha		Anyone termed:	tsu-/umba
Da	ǂkhai			ǁga-/undai
Anyone termed:	tsu			
	ǁga			
	di/guma			

Ego's siblings of same sex as ego, ego's spouse's siblings of same sex as spouse, and the spouses of these siblings

Joking permitted

Elder Br	/go	m.s.	BrWi, WiSi	tũn	m.s.
Younger Br	tai	m.s.	SiHu, HuBr	tun/ga	w.s.
Elder Si	/kwi	w.s.	WiSiHu	/go	m.s.
Younger Si	tai	w.s.	HuBrWi	/kwi	w.s.
Anyone termed:	/go	m.s.			
	/kwi	w.s.			
Any male termed:	tai	m.s.			
Any female termed:	tai	w.s.			

Ego's siblings of opposite sex, ego's spouse's siblings of opposite sex from spouse, and the spouses of these siblings

Joking prohibited

Elder Br	/go	w.s.	BrWi, HuSi	/utsu	w.s.
Younger Br	tai	w.s.	SiHu, WiBr	tun/ga	m.s.
Elder Si	/kwi	m.s.	HuSiHu	ǂtum	w.s.
Younger Si	tai	m.s.	WiBrWi	/utsu	m.s.
Anyone termed:	/go	w.s.			
	/kwi	m.s.			
Any female termed:	tai	m.s.			
Any male termed:	tai	w.s.			

The jokes which are permitted among persons who have the joking relationship, 602 and which are avoided by others, are sexual jokes and insults. Anyone may make jokes that are not sexually tinged. Persons who have the joking relationship constantly use it and enjoy it. Men accuse each other of excessive preoccupation with sexual intercourse or of having genital organs of excessive size or abnormal condition (castration or circumcision). Men accuse women with whom they may joke of being

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

ugly, slovenly, or wanton. The women retaliate, perhaps accusing the men of being worthy only of castration or of unfaithful wives. We noticed that the /Kung do not call each other sons of bitches. They are not concerned with lineage.

It is not thought proper to make blatant or insulting sexual jokes with old persons. The deference which is shown to aged persons is expressed by moderation, and the joking relationship between an old person and a considerably younger person, especially between grandparents and grandchildren, becomes a cosy friendly intimacy without the sexual emphasis.

Though the /Kung enjoy the joking relationship, it was our impression that their primary concern lay in the prohibition against joking. They said it would be 'madness' to joke with persons they should not joke with. When they meet strangers they do not dare to joke until they find out whether or not it is proper for them to do so. They gave us /Kung names. This placed us in the scheme of things and people could know what their status was with us.

The /Kung say they 'fear' (*koa*) to joke when they should not and they 'fear' (*koa*) the persons with whom joking is forbidden. The word *koa* is the same word that they use when they say they fear a lion or a mamba. They also use it to mean avoid. We think it holds the same combination of fear and respect that our word holds when we say we fear the Lord.

A /Kung told us that joking was not only amusing but that it served a good purpose in teaching people, young men especially, to hold their tempers and to have poise in their social relations. We thought that joking served a good purpose in providing an outlet in laughter for aggression and various social restraints, but we wondered if it had not primarily been developed as a response to restraints upon sexual intercourse. Incest must be a concern among a people who live in small bands of consanguineous kin and close affines, bands which are isolated for the most part within their own territories except for more or less infrequent visits to other bands. The restraints which are considered to be good and necessary may be strengthened by the symbol of avoidance of sexual joking. Respect due to a parent has perhaps come to be associated with this symbol and this may account for joking being restricted with parents of both sexes. It seems that respect in general is not required between siblings; only sexual restraint is required and this is symbolized by the restriction in joking imposed on siblings of opposite sex, whereas ego may joke with a sibling of the same sex. It is possible that the culture allows joking between grandparents and grandchildren (with the rather few exceptions when the factor of the name intervenes to classify them in the non-joking category) because joking is associated with a welcome ease and intimacy of relationship and the great difference in age removes the necessity of symbolizing sexual restraint between them.

The Name-Relationship as a Factor in Social Consolidation

The /Kung believe that the name is somehow a part of the entity of a person and that when one is named for a person one partakes of that person's entity in some way and in some degree. Informants could give us no further elucidation of this belief.

It seems evident that, when incorporated into the system of kinship terminology, the belief has produced the homonymous method of applying terms. It is our conjecture that the homonymous method was added to the system after the generational method had been established.

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

method had been established. The /Kō and /Gikwe have not incorporated the belief into their terminological systems except in a very limited way. The /Kung, however, have done so, and appear to have adapted it as logically as possible to the generational method. They apply it only to somewhat distant relationships, namely, grandparents, grandchildren, collaterals, secondary affines, and name-relatives. They do not apply it in the close biological relationships of parent, offspring or sibling or in the primary affinal relationships. Consistency is maintained by the rule that a child must not be named for a parent.

We think that the term */gu!na* came into the system with the homonymous method and that perhaps it used originally to be applied only to the person for whom ego is named. It is not strictly a kinship term, being composed of translateable words, ' big or old name '. We think it may have been superimposed upon *tun!ga* (which probably comes from the same root as *tūn*). *Tun!ga* may originally have been applied to grandfather, man-speaking as well as woman-speaking, and later */gu!na* may have become associated with grandfather because so many men are named for their grandfathers. If this is so, an anomalous situation remains unresolved. *Tun!ga* is applied to consanguineous kin and affines and allows joking, woman-speaking. Man-speaking, it is applied only to affines and prohibits joking. If it was originally the term for grandfather, man-speaking, we reason that it should allow joking, and we cannot explain this anomaly.

Whatever may be the answer to these questions, the /Kung have put to good use the belief that persons who have the same name partake of each other's entities. This belief has given them the name-relationship.

It is our impression that the practice of applying terms to name-relatives has appealed to the /Kung and that they have developed it to the full. The /Kung apply a kinship term to every /Kung they meet or almost everyone. /Qui was the only informant who worked with us on this subject who had ever met a /Kung Bushman for whom he had no kinship term. He had met four who came from a distance and whose names were not among those commonly used in the Nyae Nyae region. Ta//ne was one of the names. Gao, who was present, told /Qui that he had a *tsu* named Ta//ne, and he and /Qui nodded together in agreement that they would find a way for /Qui to give Ta//ne a term should they meet again. We know two men who used the term */go* for each other because each of them had a brother named Dam. The system seems to have been flexible and expansive in the application of terms to name-relatives.

The /Kung are small of stature and non-aggressive. They are timid and apprehensive of strangers. Their word for stranger is *ju dole*. *Ju* means person, *dole* means strange or harmful—one word for both concepts, in the /Kung language, as though they were a single concept. The /Kung have no social organization larger than the band of kin who live together but they have utilized the name-relationship to supply the cohesive factor which is supplied in other societies by various social structures. When a /Kung meets a stranger and finds that he has the same name as one of his kin and bestows a kinship term upon him, he is reassured and feels a sense of belonging.

Gao, the brother of /U, went on an errand for us to Khadum. Khadum is about 115 miles north of Gautscha and about 40 miles north of Cho/ana where we were staying at the time. He had never been to Khadum before, and the /Kung Bushmen who lived

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

602 there at once called him *ju dole*. He was in haste to say that he had heard that the father
609 of one of the people at Khadum had the same name as his father and that another had a brother named Gao. ' Oh,' said the Khadum people, in effect, ' so you are Gao's */gu!na* ', and they took him to their fire and gave him a present of edible gum.

602 The name connexions of the /Kung of Nyae Nyae extend throughout the region.
619 Thinking of Gautscha Pan as approximately the centre, the name connexions extend about 80 miles to the south, and include the /Kung who live at Gum and at a few
182 small water-holes south of Gum. To the north of Gautscha Pan they extend about 75 miles to Samangaigai, and about 100 miles to Cho/ana, and may be said now to touch upon Khadum, 115 miles from Gautscha Pan. The country to the west, between Gautscha Pan and the farmed area of South West Africa, is waterless and uninhabited. To the east the /Kung name connexions reach some 60 or 80 miles to the cattle posts of Chwana and Herero at Kai Kai and Kubi, where some /Kung work as herdsmen and others visit and trade. The /Kung who live in this region are not *ju dole* to each other. The name-relationship makes them feel they are one people.

619 But there are edges to this sense of being one people. At Karakuwise to the north-west, about 100 miles away from the centre of the Nyae Nyae area, and at Nuragas, about 200 miles away, there are /Kung Bushmen. Although none of the Nyae Nyae people have been there, the people of Nyae Nyae know that those people speak the same language. However, the Karakuwise and the Nuragas people are distant, and they are *ju dole*. The people of Nyae Nyae say that they hear that the people of Nuragas put a strange poison into the pipes they give you to smoke which makes you become as thin as a stick and then die. The people of Nyae Nyae do not know the names of the people at Nuragas.

Résumé

000 LA TERMINOLOGIE DE LA PARENTÉ CHEZ LES BOSCHIMANS /KUNG

Les Boschimans /Kung sont des chasseurs et des ramasseurs nomades, qui ont eu très peu de contacts avec d'autres tribus ou avec des Européens; ils vivent en petites bandes de parents consanguins et d'affins proches, qui sont, pour la plupart, isolés à l'intérieur de leurs propres territoires, sauf pour des visites plus ou moins rares par d'autres bandes. Le système /Kung de terminologie de parenté présente deux aspects: d'après l'un, les termes sont appliqués suivant la situation biologique des personnes; d'après l'autre, les personnes sont classées avec d'autres, du fait qu'elles ont les mêmes noms. Du point de vue terminologique, deux personnes quelconques ne peuvent être apparentées simultanément de plus d'une façon, bien qu'elles puissent changer leur rapport terminologique par le mariage, ou, parfois, par le changement de leurs noms. En général, les termes employés indiquent l'âge biologique relatif des personnes qui s'appliquent mutuellement des termes de parenté. Les mêmes termes sont utilisés en s'adressant à une personne et en y faisant allusion. Pour les besoins de l'analyse, on peut distinguer entre deux systèmes de terminologie de parenté: le système A s'applique à des parents consanguins et aux personnes classées avec eux, soit par suite d'un rapport entre leurs noms, soit parce qu'elles se sont mariées avec ces parents. Le système B s'applique aux affins. Il y a trois catégories de termes dans le système A, selon leur emploi entre: (1) père ou mère et enfant; (2) ' siblings ' (enfants de mêmes père et mère), et (3) générations. Dans cette dernière catégorie, la personne plus âgée emploie invariablement une forme diminutive en s'adressant, ou en faisant allusion, à la personne

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

unmarried son or two, and their daughters' children. Bushmen are polygynous, and a man is allowed by custom to have as many wives as he can afford, depending on how well he hunts—usually a man can afford only one wife, sometimes two (often a pair of sisters), and once we heard of a man with four wives. For this reason there are often more women than men in a band.

The immediate family, a man, his wife, or wives, and children, is the only solid social unit; otherwise the small bands are always breaking up and recombining with other small bands as the structures of single families change, through marriages, divorces, deaths, or as the family decides to pay a prolonged visit to a different group of relatives.

Any Bushman will either be related by blood or marriage or will be acquainted with all the other Bushmen in his area but this is as far as Bushmen go in their affinities. They do not recognize as their own people strange Bushmen who speak the same language; in fact, they suspect and fear them as they do any stranger.

We have visited four of the Bushman language groups, two of which we stayed with for long periods of time. In 1951, after a survey expedition to learn where Bushmen could be found, we went into the Nyae Nyae area of South-West Africa, close to the border of Bechuanaland, to look for Kung Bushmen. We found a band living near a waterhole, as it was June, the drought of the year, and we stayed with them for four months. At first only a few Bushmen were there, but as the news spread that we were friendly, more and more people came to visit us and receive presents of tobacco and salt, for Bushmen love to smoke but rarely have tobacco, which they get in trade. Also, most of the Bushmen had never seen a European before, none had ever seen a European woman, and they came by dozens to sit together in a cluster

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

136 stood on his branch with the legs wide apart, bracing himself against the wind. When I got near he dropped from his branch and let the wind carry him away, and I saw that he had been watching a colony of ground squirrels close by which had not seen him and did not see me. They, too, were miserable with the cold, for they walked around slowly as they looked for seeds to eat. I sat down to watch them, which they noticed, and some of them stood up to watch me. Their fur was oddly greenish and it blew in the wind showing little patches of white. They had long fat bellies, long heavy thighs, and little feet, and when they stood up they, too, kept their legs wide apart and braced. As they peered at me I heard on the wind almost inaudibly high, soft whistles, their cries of warning to each other. They decided I was dangerous and vanished down their holes.

123 I came back to the werf with some wood, which I gave to the Bushmen. They reached out their hands for it and put it on their fires, but they didn't say a word. Later, in our camp, we put all the wood we had on one great fire, where the Bushmen joined us and where we spent the morning making and drinking cocoa. We even put up a white canvas, and, lying between it and the fire, we were fairly warm.

423 621 602 159 Ukwane used that occasion to tell us something about his life and his relatives, his former wives, the children he had fathered and where they lived. Most of this centered around melon rights, or who could live in which areas, for if a person is born in a certain area he or she has a right to eat the melons that grow there and all the veld food. It is perhaps this factor that explains in part why the Gikwe bands are composed the way they are; a man may eat the melons wherever his wife can and wherever his father and mother could, so that every Bushman has in this way some kind of rights in many places. Gai, for example, ate melons at Ai a ha'o be-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe
Kung

cause his wife's mother was born there, as well as at his own birthplace, the Okwa Omaramba, where we had found the eighteen Bushmen, who after all were not strangers but closely related to Gai and Ukwane and an extension of Ukwane's band.

Ukwane himself had had three wives, and he and his first wife had been divorced, which Bushmen do by announcing the divorce and separating. There is no ceremony connected with divorce, and no difficulty, as there is no ceremony connected with any marriage but the first. After a divorce a Bushman man may take up residence with another woman whom he prefers.

Without the visible evidence of ceremonies, however, it is hard for non-Bushmen to recognize what is happening, as occasionally Bushmen live together for short periods without being married, or commit adultery. But in cases such as these there is someone who does not want the union to be permanent, either the man or the woman, or perhaps his or her children; perhaps even the man and woman are tabu relatives, and unless everyone concerned is more or less in accord, the union does not take place. Among Bushmen, incest and adultery are strongly condemned.

Once, among Kung Bushmen we lived with, a woman ran away from her husband to take up with another man. She had considered marrying him, and they ran off one night to his family to live permanently. When her husband found out, he got so wildly angry, taking up his spear and sharpening it, that the headman of the band set off after the elopers to preserve the peace. My brother and I went with him, and at noon we found the lovers resting in the shade.

The headman talked with the elopers and told them how they were bringing shame on both their families, and how the woman's husband was violently upset. By this time the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

young boys began to speak sounds that were for all the world like the sounds of English, with flat, almost nasal tones, perfect in cadence and inflection, and the people laughed again.

Because it was getting close to noon and the sun, now only veiled by the smoke, was burning over our heads, we decided to start our search for Short Kwi. After Toma, Toma's son, Gao Fect, and Lazy Kwi decided to go with us and the others decided to stay at home, we got on the truck and drove away, lurching over the stones at the edge of camp and out to the wild veld, to the west, where the soft wind was blowing and the horizon seemed dim because of the smoke. Ledimo, the interpreter, came too, and my brother and myself, and that night we slept in the veld, not even bothering to build a fire, but eating a few handfuls of cold food and sleeping in our blankets around the truck. The following afternoon we reached the werf of Short Kwi and his people. This werf, too, was hidden in the bushes and if the men of the band hadn't come out into the plain to meet us we might have gone by it, for Toma himself hadn't known exactly where it was. They came out because they knew it would be us they were meeting, for, they explained later, the European farmers couldn't possibly have found them there.

Six men and several young boys suddenly stepped from the bushes and appeared in front of our truck, all of them brown and naked and waving wildly to us, and the truck stopped so fast that those of us on top were nearly thrown off, and we all climbed down to greet them.

Three of the men were brothers, the brothers-in-law of Short Kwi, for their old mother had a strong hold on her family and kept them all beside her. Her sons and her daughters all lived with her; the sons at least might have been expected to live with the families of their wives, but they had never left her and they were here with her now. They stood

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

together in front of the truck and when we climbed down they embraced us.

We went on toward the werf with these men and boys clinging to the sides of the truck and laughing loudly at those among them who were raked by thorn branches that the truck drove through, and at the edge of the werf we saw the women standing all together, waving and calling to us, and we stopped again and they too embraced us and kissed me, and the little children gravely shook my hand.

Short Kwi's mother-in-law was there with a wide and toothless smile, her face all wrinkled like a little shriveled pear, and many other people, among them the old man who had never shot a buck and whose sister had died in the forest; he now was nobody's close relative and we noticed he had lost an eye and seemed even more malevolent and sad. He greeted us distantly, but the others were enthusiastic. The little children tried to climb on me and finally someone put a baby in my arms. The baby bit me, but he meant me no harm, for when he bit I felt the sharp edge of a new tooth coming, which probably itched.

We passed through the bushes and came into the werf, where the people had obviously been living for a long time, judging by the size of the ash heaps at the fires and the depth of the nests that people had dug for themselves. Looking around, it came to us that many people whom we had expected to see were not there, Short Kwi for one, and his wife. When we asked for them, Short Kwi's brother-in-law said that he would take us to see him presently. When we asked for the others who were missing—among them the man with two wives named Kushe and two daughters named Xama—we were told that these people had all been taken by the farmers and had never been seen again. We were very sad to hear it, for many of them were too old to have to do the heavy

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959.
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

732 rumble, a faint roaring in the veld, the sound blown to us on the wind. Toma must have heard it first, for he stood up from his nap and squinted his eyes at the veld. "A truck," he said. "Your truck. Not the farmers."

He was right; it was our truck. Soon we saw its top among the bushes; when it burst through the bushes at the edge of the pan the Bushman men ran to meet it and, as it did not stop, ran along beside it, craning their necks to look in the front and the back. Soon they dropped behind and walked slowly in its dust cloud. Short Kwi had not come.

The news of Short Kwi was good. At the hospital, his gangrenous flesh had been removed and enough of his calf was left so that a peg leg could be attached to it. A peg leg had been chosen instead of an artificial leg because, in the veld, an artificial leg would be impossible to repair or replace, but a peg leg could be replaced with the carved branch of any tree. It would be months before Short Kwi and his family could return to Nama because Short Kwi would have to learn to walk again, using the peg. When he was able to come, a truck from the government of South-West Africa would bring him.

We told all this to the Bushmen, but they were not really pleased. The miracle which they had perhaps expected had not taken place, for Short Kwi was still a cripple, and he always would be. They did not think of Tu's brother, the lame boy who would someday be a headman, who managed his lame leg and his crutch so well that he had hunted successfully and was initiated into manhood; they turned their sad faces away from the truck and went back to their scherms in silence.

574 602 The following morning, adding somewhat to the tension and unease, the rest of Short Kwi's band arrived. They looked

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

very sleek and prosperous, for they were staggering under loads of food, their bags and nets bulging with tsi and their carrying-poles strung with the meat of the gemsbok. They put down their loads and the women began immediately to make a large and busy werf on the far side of Toma's. In a very short time the werf was built and strewn with food and objects, and the people sitting among their possessions looked so comfortable and settled that one would never have thought that they had just arrived.

The old woman, Short Kwi's mother-in-law, did cry when she found her daughter gone. She squatted sadly on the ground and wiped her tears from her wrinkled, dusty cheeks with her fingers. All her relatives, clustered around her, trying to comfort her, telling her that, after all, her daughter would return, that she herself would be looked after and not allowed to starve, and presently the old woman stopped crying, wiped her eyes, and got up to build herself a tiny hut, a shade of grass and branches.

That night, when darkness fell, when the moon rose blood red among the trees and the frogs in the pan began their singing, we were again sitting by our fire, again hosts to a good many visitors, when we heard high voices singing a medicine song. We stood up to look over the grass and saw a fire where no werf was, with five young girls around it singing, clapping a rhythm, their faces lit red by the fire and their backs lit palely by the moon. They were all alone there, far from their homes.

We asked our visitors if there was going to be a dance, which did not seem likely, everyone being in such low spirits, and those who wanted to dance said yes while those who didn't said no. Soon some little children joined the dance, though, among them Little Gashe and Little Dabe. Little

11:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

622
554
208

quarrels, a focal point in discussion of plans, a comfort to the bereaved and a strength for those in doubt.

621
602
[591]

The functions of headman, as headman, are of a different nature. In order to take up residence with a band, a person must have certain ties of kin with members of the band. Such a person may live with his own parents or siblings, or with his wife's parents or siblings. It is a wide choice, providing for flexibility—but within limits. There are, of course, exceptions, and visitors from other bands are never denied, but possession of some kinship tie seems to be a general requirement for residence which,

621
602 if violated, would subject the violator to criticism by the band.

626 SHORT of fighting, all the !Kung can do to control the actions of individuals is to criticize. But this is apparently enough. A man, expelled from his band, *might* be able to survive alone in the desert—with luck. he might even manage for years. If he could persuade his family to come with him, they might survive together even more easily, for the family is the basic subsistence unit. But freshly gone, he would be an outlaw and, in time, become a stranger to his people. This would be an unthinkable

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

SHARING, TALKING, AND GIVING: RELIEF OF SOCIAL TENSIONS AMONG /KUNG BUSHMEN

LORNA MARSHALL

THIS paper describes customs, practised by the /Kung Bushmen in the Nyae Nyae region of South Africa, which help them to avoid situations that are likely to arouse ill will and hostility among individuals within the bands and between bands. Two customs which seem to be especially helpful and which I describe in detail are meat-sharing and gift-giving. I mention also the /Kung habits of talking, aspects of their good manners, their borrowing and lending, and their not stealing.[1]

The common human needs for co-operation and companionship are particularly apparent among the Nyae Nyae /Kung. Independent living, outside the band structure,[2] does not exist for individuals. Nuclear families do not live alone. The arduous hunting-gathering life would be impossible without the co-operation and companionship of a larger group. Moreover, in this society the ownership of the resources of food and water is organized through the headmen of bands, and individuals have rights to these resources by being members of a band connected to the headman by some near or remote kin or affinal bond. The /Kung are also extremely dependent emotionally on the sense of belonging and on companionship. Their need to avoid loneliness, I think, is actually visible in the way families cluster together in their werfs and in the way people sit, often touching someone else, shoulder against shoulder, ankle across ankle. Comfort and security for them lie in belonging to their group, free from hostility or rejection.

Their security and comfort must be achieved side by side with self-interest and much jealous watchfulness. Altruism, kindness, sympathy, or genuine generosity were not qualities which I observed often in their behaviour. However, these qualities were not entirely lacking, especially between parents and offspring, between siblings and between spouses. One mother carried her sick adult daughter on her back for three days in searing summer heat for us to give her medicine. /Naoka carried her lame son, Lame ≠Gao, for years. Gau clucked and fussed over his second wife, Khuan//a, when she was sick. When /U had a baby, her sister, Di/ai, gathered veldkos for her for five days. On the other hand, people do not generally help each other. They laugh when the lame man, Kham, falls down and do not help him up. /U's jealous eyes were like those of a viper when we gave more attention to her husband, ≠Toma, than to her because he was much more ill. And, in the extreme, there is the report from the 1958 expedition of an instance of callous indifference in one band and the probable abandonment of a dying old childless woman, an old aunt, when her sister, with whom she lived, had died.

Occasions when tempers have got out of control are remembered with awe. The

[1] This description of the /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region is based on observations made during our several expeditions between 1951 and 1959. Changes in the conditions under which the /Kung live are to be expected, and how these changes will affect the practice of the customs here described we do not know.

[2] Lorna Marshall, '/Kung Bushman Band Organization', *Africa*, vol. xxx, no. 4, Oct. 1960.

224 or a woman, consanguineous kin, affine, or friend. Thirdly, people lend arrows to
4 07 one another. The status of the arrow plays its part in the distribution of the animal
491 killed with it. There is much giving and lending of arrows. The society seems to want to extinguish in every way possible the concept of the meat belonging to the hunter.

A hunter chooses which arrow he will use. The owner of the arrow—who *ipso facto* owns the animal—may therefore be the hunter himself, who has chosen to use an arrow he made or one that was given him, or he may be a person who lent the arrow to the hunter.

There may be several hunters in the hunting party and several arrows in the animal, but this seems to cause no confusion or conflict. Every arrow is known, of course. The hunters may see which first penetrates effectively so that its poison could account for the kill. But I think that often it is arranged beforehand who will own the animal. A man asking another to accompany him might say, 'Come and help me get a buck.' Or 'Old Gau lent me an arrow and asked me to hunt for him. You come too.'

224 I think there is little or no dissension as to who owned the animal because it is not a cause for great stress; each hunter gets a share of the meat anyway. I think also that a man wants sometimes to be the owner of the meat in order to start the distribution off in the direction of his own kin and affines, but that one is also content sometimes not to have the onus of the main distribution.

The first distribution of the animal is made in large portions usually to five or six persons. They are the owner of the arrow, the giver of the arrow (if the arrow was not one the owner had made himself), and the hunters. The meat, always uncooked in the first distribution, is given on the bone, unless the animal is large and the meat has been cut into strips at the kill.

In a second distribution the several persons who got meat in the first distribution cut up their shares and distribute them further. This meat also is given uncooked. The amounts depend on the number of persons involved, but should be as much as the giver can manage. In the second distribution close kinship is the factor which sets the pattern of the giving. Certain obligations are compulsory. A man's first obligation at this point, we were told, is to give to his wife's parents. He must give [C02] to them the best he has in as generous portions as he can, while still fulfilling other primary obligations, which are to his own parents, his spouse, and offspring. He keeps a portion for himself at this time and from it would give to his siblings, to his wife's siblings, if they are present, and to other kin, affines, and friends who are there, possibly only in small quantities by then.

Everyone who receives meat gives again, in another wave of sharing, to his or her parents, parents-in-law, spouses, offspring, siblings, and others. The meat may be cooked and the quantities small.

[514] Visitors, even though they are not close kin or affines, are given meat by the people whom they are visiting. This is a strongly felt social rule. Visitors may receive small quantities of cooked meat, which is like being asked to dinner.

[55] Name relatives often receive generous portions of meat because they have the same name as the giver or because their names associate them with his close kin, [C04] but this seems to be more a favour than an absolute rule. ≠Toma said there were far too many men named ≠Toma for him to give them special consideration.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

vour it. Thus, according to our observations, a !Kung band gets on an average 224
only about fifteen to eighteen large animals in a usual year.

The meat of the large game animals does not belong to the hunters to do with as they choose. However, they always have the prerogative of eating the [242]
liver at the site of the kill and, if their hunger is not satisfied, they may eat more. The bulk of the meat is then carried to the band, where it is distributed among the members according to a system. The meat belongs to the owner of the first arrow that penetrates the animal so that it stays in. He has the responsibility of making the first distribution.

Anyone in the band may be the owner of the arrow. A hunter carries 224
arrows he acquires in three different ways. Each man has his own that he 411
makes himself, shaping the points with some little distinction so that he 422
will know them from the arrows of other men. In addition he carries 426
arrows that have been given or lent to him. When an arrow is given to him, 431
he is the owner as much as if he had made it himself, but if he uses that 571
arrow he must make a special gift of meat to the donor. When he uses an arrow that is loaned to him, he merely shoots for the person who lent it and who remains the owner of the arrow. !Kung society makes a great deal of giving and lending arrows. Women and old men, as well as men in their hunting prime, receive arrows as gifts and may give them or lend them to a hunter, asking him to shoot for them. A hunter cannot refuse an arrow— [576]
as a person cannot refuse any gift—without offending the giver. He accepts the arrow and with it an obligation, but he gives or lends arrows in return and involves others in obligation to him. Hunters choose to use one or another of their arrows, with the result that the responsibility of distributing the meat, with its advantages and obligations, is shared by members of the band as is the meat itself.

In the first distribution the whole animal is divided among a few 224
persons, who receive whole sections on the bone, unless the animal is so large that the meat has to be cut off in strips to be carried. The first of these persons are the hunters, each of whom gets a fore- or hindquarter or the equivalent. The giver of the arrow (if the arrow was not made by the owner himself) receives a generous portion. The owner of the arrow, who may be one of the hunters, or anybody, keeps the rest.

In the second distribution, the several persons who got meat in the 224
first distribution cut up their shares and distribute them further. The 602
amounts depend on the number of persons involved, but should be as much as the giver can manage. In the second distribution, close kinship is the factor that sets the pattern of giving. A man's first obligation at this point [606]
is to his wife's parents. He must give to them the best he has in as generous [593]
portions as he can while still fulfilling other primary obligations, which are to his own parents, his spouse, and offspring. He keeps a portion for himself at this time and from it would give to his siblings, to his wife's siblings, if

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

224 they are present, and to other kin, affines, and friends who are there, possibly
602 only in small quantities by then.

Everyone who receives meat gives again, in another wave of sharing, to his or her parents, parents-in-law, spouses, offspring, siblings, and others.
[574] This meat may be cooked and the quantities small. Visitors receive small amounts of cooked meat from their hosts. It ends in everybody getting some meat.

224 In the later waves of sharing, when the primary distribution and pri-
431 mary kinship obligations have been fulfilled, the giving of meat from one's own portion has the quality of gift giving. !Kung society requires at this point only that a person should give with reasonable generosity in proportion to what he has received and not keep more than an equitable amount for himself, and that the person who receives a gift of meat must give a reciprocal gift of meat at some time in the future. People give to whom they please, this time to some, next time to others, more generously or less generously
[571] according to their own (to us often unfathomable) reasons. We are certain, however, that the motives are the same as in gift giving in general: the person gives to measure up to what is expected of him, to make friendly gestures, to win favor, to repay past favors and obligations, and to enmesh others in future obligation.

224 Aside from the practical advantage of using up meat while it is still
431 fresh, the !Kung custom of meat sharing has enormous social value. It does
181 a great deal to mitigate tensions. The fear of hunger is lessened. People are
[154] sustained by a web of mutual obligation. Moreover, they are fully conscious
[183] of these values, and the custom is so strongly established and so faithfully followed that the idea of not sharing is virtually unthinkable to the !Kung.

422 Meat is not habitually cooked and eaten as a family meal among the
262 !Kung. When an individual receives a portion he owns it outright. He may
264 give and share it further, as he wishes, but it never becomes family or group property. The men, women, and children may cook their pieces when and as they wish, often roasting bits in the coals and hot ashes and eating them alone at odd times. Or someone may start a big pot boiling and several people will bring their pieces to put into it at the same time, each taking his own piece out when it is cooked.

The sense of possessing one's own piece personally is, I believe, very
[261] important to the !Kung. It gives one the responsibility of choosing when to eat one's meat and struggling with hunger as best one can when it is finished, without occasion or excuse for blaming others for eating more than their share.

224 It has often been reported that, when Bushmen kill an animal, they
261 gorge themselves until they can hardly walk. We have seen the Nyae Nyae !Kung eat hearty meals of meat when plenty appeared and they had been long without, but nothing more than we considered a normal amount.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

Both the father and mother expect and receive respect and obedience from their children. Although the mother's influence is always felt, I believe that the father's authority is greater. It is not formalized or expressed in a harsh or domineering way. As long as the father lives, he is the head of the family, symbolically. Even when too old to hunt, if he is still a forceful person, he remains the one in authority, the leader of the sons-in-law and his daughters, of his sons and their wives. Gradually, however, when he becomes very old, the younger men make their own plans without necessarily consulting him.

!Kung families are responsible for dependents. Thus, old, dependent parents are unfailingly supported by their offspring and may choose with which one of their offspring they will live. Orphaned children are taken by their grandparents or by a sibling of their parents. It happens occasionally that a person has no living parent, offspring, or sibling. In that case, other relatives assume the responsibility.

THE NAME RELATIONSHIP • Although !Kung society has developed no formal political structure under which the bands are united, and there are no organizations outside the bands, these people have a means of extending the concept of kinship beyond close consanguineous relatives and affines and of recognizing, in what we call the name relationship, the web of remote interrelationship that long intermarriage within the region has established.

Invariably the first son and the first daughter are named by their father for their paternal grandparents. Other children are usually named for their mother's parents, the siblings of their parents, and the spouses of those siblings, and may occasionally be named for other relatives. Thus, a few names are used over and over through the generations. We recorded only forty-six men's names and forty-one women's names in the region. The !Kung assume that persons who have the same name are related, though the exact nature of the relationship is forgotten. They believe, also, that people with the same name somehow have a common entity. They bestow upon each other kin terms that are appropriate to the name, according to a system. The !Kung have intermarried within the Nyae Nyae region to such an extent that everyone has a kin term he associates with each one of the names. This means that the people of the whole region are what we call name relatives, all applying kin terms to each other.

From the !Kung point of view the custom has two values. It regulates the incest taboo in its furthermost extension, especially the joking relationship that symbolizes the taboo. (For example, a man should not marry or make sexual jokes with a woman who has the same name as his mother.) The !Kung feel secure in righteousness when they know they are behaving

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

properly in these matters, and the kin term they apply guides their behavior with everyone they meet.

The other value is obvious. The !Kung of the whole Nyae Nyae region, in their thirty-six separate bands or groups, are drawn together by a feeling of belonging to an in-group. The familiar names and the use of the kin terms make them expect from each other behavior suitable to kinsmen—sharing food, gift giving, restraint from expressing jealousy or other hostilities, conforming to group opinion, all the things they do that are conducive to peaceful living together. This sense of belonging gives security and comfort to these people in whose language the word *dole*, which means "strange," means also "harmful" and "bad." They call themselves *ju /ǒassi*. *Ju* means "people"; */ǒassi* connotes something like "true" or "pure" and can be paraphrased as "just ourselves."[7]

INHERITANCE PATTERN • The !Kung have no named, structured patrilineages, but they have a patrilineal emphasis. Inheritance passes from father to eldest son, as does the succession in headmanship.

There is not much property to inherit. Land and the resources of food and water are owned by the band, not privately by individuals. A considerable amount of an individual's personal property is destroyed at the time of his death. This is not done to provide implements for the spirits in the after-life. The !Kung believe that the spirits of the dead have their own heavenly objects and need nothing from earth. It is done because no member of the family wants to use the common objects of the dead, which too vividly remind them of their loss. Only the more rare and important possessions are kept, such as assegais and fine ornaments. These are inherited by the eldest son. Failing a son, the spouse or a daughter or sibling or, failing these, some other close relative who was present would take the things. Whoever took them would be expected to give some of them to other relatives.

MARRIAGE • As I mentioned, the Nyae Nyae !Kung rarely marry outside the region, although !Kung women not infrequently marry Tswana or Herero men in the border settlements.

First marriages are arranged by parents while the children are still young. Either the parents of the boy or those of the girl may first ask for the betrothal. Parents of boys have their eyes on every girl baby and may say to parents of an unborn infant, "If it is a girl, let us have her for our son."

No property settlements enter into the marriage choices or marriage arrangements among the !Kung. Rather, they say about the basis of their choice that they seek an upstanding family for their child to marry into, people who are not lazy and not "far-hearted" but who are dependable and generous and behave with propriety, obeying the social rules and the

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

other genital operations are not practiced by the !Kung. The *Choma* is not compulsory; most boys take part but a few refuse. *Choma* owners do not form a corporate sodality. !Kung society has no such units except kinship groups.

Another ceremony for boys, which is presumably ancient and traditionally Bushman, must be performed before a boy can marry. This ceremony is performed twice for each boy, individually, on the occasion of his first killing a large game animal, once for the first male, once for the first female. The meat is cooked at a special fire, which women must avoid, and is eaten ceremonially by the men. The boy is scarified, by his father or another male relative, on his right side for the first male animal, on his left side for the first female. Little vertical cuts are made in his skin in lines on his arms, chest, back, and forehead, and a paste of charred meat and fat is rubbed into them. This is to ensure his seeing well, shooting well, and having a heart that will say to him, "Why am I sitting here in the werf? Why am I not out hunting?"

The passage from childhood to adulthood is marked for a !Kung girl by a ceremony at her first menstruation. The girl is isolated in a special scherm for the duration of the flow only. She must be covered by a kaross because the sun must not shine upon her, and her feet must not touch the ground. When she must go out to urinate or defecate, she is carried on the back of the old woman (not her mother) who attends her. It is not the menstrual blood but the girl herself who must be kept from touching the ground. She would get thin if she disregarded this taboo. Men and boys must not look at the girl and she must not look at them lest the men become highly visible to animals and unable to get near enough to them to shoot.

Every day that the girl is in the menstruation scherm, the women who are present and one or two old men dance a special dance called the Eland Dance and sing a special cycle of First Menstruation music. The Eland Dance is full of sex symbolism. The two old men should be free from even the most attenuated, symbolic extension of the incest taboo with respect to the girl, and it follows that they should have what is called the joking relationship with her. The usual strict modesty of the women is set aside. They take off their karosses (leaving their aprons on, however) and hang strings of beads from their waists down over their bare buttocks. The old men, with forked sticks tied to their heads to represent eland horns, imitate the gait and carriage of elands, and dance among the women with subtly erotic gestures. The other men and boys of the werf must stay at a distance.

When the girl stops menstruating she is washed, rubbed with *tsi* and fat, and her face is painted with red lines. She then may go among the people again, but the first time she takes water from the water hole and the first time she cooks and eats veldkos, the water and veldkos must be

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

622 leadership, the people may turn quite informally to some other man for leadership in their daily life—ask him for help and advice, fall in with his plans. Such a leader has no authority and receives no honors or rewards.

Headmanship is inherited by the eldest son from the father. If that son dies or leaves the band, the headmanship passes to the next eldest son.

No strictly formulated rules, insofar as we know, provide for further succession. We have no observations of our own of situations in which a headman had no son.[10]

622 621 571 The rule of succession does not provide for a headmanship to pass collaterally to a headman's younger brother. However, a younger brother may set up a band of his own in the same territory if he does not prefer to live under the headmanship of his older brother or if he does not continue to live with his wife's people. The younger brother has his own rights to the veldkos and water that derive from his father and he can share them with his family and band. Nevertheless, as long as a son of the headman in rightful succession is living in the territory, he has higher authority and is responsible for the overall planning. Should the principal headman's band die out or realign itself, the collateral band led by the younger brother would become the principal one.

621 622 602 571 The bonds that bring the !Kung into membership in bands are the same consanguineous and affinal bonds on which a nuclear family is formed: the bonds of parent-offspring, siblings, and spouses. Everyone who lives in a !Kung band is linked by one of these bonds with the headman, sometimes directly or sometimes in a chainlike manner through one or two other persons. A description of a typical band will illustrate this point. Band II of Gautscha has forty-one members. The headman, Gao Beard, has two wives and four young children. With Gao Beard live his younger brother, one of his younger sisters, each with spouse and children, and his elderly, dependent and widowed mother. Gao asked his first wife's father, Old ≠Toma, whom he likes very much, to join his band. Old ≠Toma brought with him into the band his wife, a married son with wife and child, two younger sons, his wife's sister, and her son by a now divorced husband. He also brought sixteen other persons—Gau and his people. Gau belongs to another band but was at the time living in Band II because he had married, as a second wife, Old ≠Toma's wife's sister and, middle-aged though they are, he was in bride service to her people. After a time Gau can choose whether to stay on in Band II or to go back to the band in which he originated. He said that he thought he would decide to stay with Old ≠Toma and Gao Beard because he likes Old ≠Toma and because Gao Beard has a mangetti grove.

621 423 People retain throughout their lives their membership in the band in which they were born and their rights to its veldkos and water resources.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

If they leave the band they may return. Affines and the families of affines have equal rights to the resources while they are present but do not retain them if they leave.

RELIGION

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS • In the many strange old tales of the !Kung appears a protagonist named ǂ*Gaoǃna*—Old ǂGao. He had supernatural powers, but he looked like a man and lived on earth. Like mankind, he was subject to passion, hunger, wrongdoing, failure, frustration, and humiliation, but men imagine his feelings in larger scale and as more grotesque than their own. Themes of incest, hunger, and cannibalism run through the tales. The !Kung claim that this old protagonist and the great god of their present belief are one and the same: they have the same names, but if the present great god is the old ǂ*Gaoǃna*, he is mightily changed.

The !Kung now believe that there are two gods. The great god lives in the eastern sky where the sun rises; the lesser, in the western sky where the sun sets. The great god is the creator of all things. He created himself and named himself. He then created the lesser god and a wife for each of them. The wives bore them children. The great god gave names to all these beings. Then he created the earth and the water holes, the sky and the rain, the sun and the wind, the things that grow on the earth, and the animals with their stripes and colors, and he gave them names. He created a woman and then a man. He commanded the man and the woman and the animals to breathe, for without breathing they would not live. From the beginning he created men and women to be mortal. When mortals die he takes their spirits to the place where he lives in the eastern sky, where there is a certain tree that has no name. He hangs the spirits in the tree, makes a medicine smoke in a pot beneath them, and transmutes them into the */gauwasi*, the spirits of the dead, who live in the sky with him and are his servants. He has a medicine with which he renews himself, the */gauwasi*, and the other heavenly beings and thus keeps them immortal.

The great god gave men bows and arrows and poison and digging sticks and taught them how to shoot animals and dig for food. Everything men know he taught them. Having created all things, the great god is the owner and the master of all things and commands their movements.

To "praise" himself, the !Kung believe, the great god gave himself seven divine names and one human name. The divine names are *Hishe, Huwe, Kxo, !Gara, Gani ga,* ǂ*Gaishi* ǂ*gai* and */Gauwa*. The human name is ǂ*Gaoǃna*, the one he shares with the old protagonist.

Although there is not an absolute taboo upon saying the names of the

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

1951:26). In East Africa are sites indicating that people of common origin with Bushmen inhabited those regions, and this suggests that Bushmen in past ages migrated from the northeast (Schapera 1951:27) into South Africa, where they distributed themselves from the Zambesi River to the Cape of Good Hope. Hottentots also came into southern Africa—from East Africa in all probability—bringing with them herds of cattle. Bantu-speaking Negro tribes migrated into southern Africa, it is believed during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. White settlers began in 1652 to establish themselves at the Cape of Good Hope. Negroes, Hottentots, and whites encroached upon Bushmen, who were expelled from the better-watered lands or assimilated or exterminated. With the exception of a few individuals, the surviving Bushmen are found now only in the Kalahari Desert.

(3) The numbers of Bushmen found in various political divisions in 1955 as listed by Tobias (1956) are as follows:

Bechuanaland Protectorate	31,000
South West Africa	20,311
Angola	4,000
Northern Rhodesia	200
Union of South Africa	20

(4) Hooton classified Bushmen and Hottentots as a composite race, predominantly Negroid (1946:628) "whose racial ambiguity will probably continue to haunt us" (p. 633). [Cf. Schapera (1951:27), who says that it is generally regarded that Pygmies and Bushmen probably both diverged from a small variety of Negro; and Tobias (1961:19) who points out that no fossil remains have yet been found to provide definite evidence of this.] The resemblance of some of the physical characteristics of Bushmen to those of Mongolians is generally thought to be fortuitous (cf. Tobias 1957:4 ff.). Coon (1962:193) places the Bushmen among "tag-ends of ancient humanity, culturally as well as physically archaic," hard for classifiers to "fit into categories, let alone explain." The reader is referred to Schapera (1951) and Howells (1959) for judicious presentations of what is and is not known about these peoples.

(5) Studies on the adaptation of the Bushmen to heat and cold have been published by Wyndham and Morrison (1956).

(6) The nature of the Bushman hunt is graphically and empathetically portrayed in a most effective and widely acclaimed film, "The Hunters," made by Mrs. Marshall's son, John Marshall, while following !Kung hunters. Information about purchase or rental of the 70-minute film may be obtained from The Film Study Center, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge 38, Mass.—Ed.

(7) I think that in the name relationship of the !Kung we can see the potential beginnings of a kin group. It would seem that it could be a *deme* if it existed. A deme is a name Murdock proposed for a bilateral endogamous local group, in the absence of unilinear descent, "comparable to the sib both in size and in the traditional rather than demonstrable bonds of kinship which unite

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

the members" (Murdock 1949:62 ff.). This definition very nearly fits the !Kung name relationship, but we are convinced that the !Kung do not think of the region as having a consciously structured grouping to which authority is attributed, such as, for example, a rule of endogamy.

(8) Among consanguineous kin, ego is forbidden to marry siblings of parents, cousins (first, strictly; second, less strictly; and third, only theoretically), and nephews and nieces. Ego's marriage with great-grandparents, grandparents, grandchildren and great-grandchildren is also forbidden, but is not a concern. Discrepancy in age and the realization of close consanguinity combine to make the idea ridiculous and almost unthinkable. The affines whom ego must not marry are numerous, including spouses of offspring and parents of the spouse, also spouses of uncles and aunts.

Ego must not marry his sister's husband's father or brother's wife's mother, because, as marriages with the sister's husband and brother's wife are preferred, it seems improper to marry parents of one of these affines. Similarly, marriage with the husband's brother and wife's sister are preferred, so it seems logical to the !Kung to forbid marriage with the husband's brother's son or the wife's sister's daughter. Marriage with the parent of a son's wife or a daughter's husband is forbidden, for if ego married these affines that would make the son and son's wife or the daughter and daughter's husband stepbrother and stepsister, which would be most awkward. Marriage with the wife's brother's wife or the husband's sister's husband is also forbidden; the reason for this lies in a complexity of the joking relationship.

Lastly, marriage is prohibited with certain name relatives whose names associate them with kinsmen to whom the incest taboo is extended. Ego is supposed not to marry anyone with the same name as his parent or offspring or anyone with the same name as his spouse's parent or offspring's spouse. He should not marry the parent or offspring or sibling of anyone with the same name as himself.

(9) When the people go to the mangetti forests after the rains have begun, the young girls draw on the soft, smooth, gray bark of female mangetti trees. They make diagrammatic representations of their genital aprons, of the bead ornaments that they wear in their hair and that are male and female symbols (the long rectangular ones are male, the triangular ones are female), and of the stripes of their leg scarifications. This suggests that the scarifications were associated directly with fertility, although now the women claim they are made only for beauty.

Incidentally, the Nyae Nyae !Kung know nothing of the cave paintings or rock engravings that abound in other parts of southern Africa. We found none in the country around them. There were drawings, however, on baobab trees, abstract-looking forms different from the girls' drawings on the mangetti trees.

(10) We believe that one of several possible adjustments might be made. Strictly speaking, a daughter does not become headman (though we heard people

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

131
184
648

Kuangari, Bunja, Sambiu, Djiriku	in South West Africa
Mbukushu	in South West Africa and B. P.
Bayei, Batawana, Herero	in B. P.

[621] These !Kung may live in independent villages near a
[224] Bantu kraal and devote much of their time to hunting and
[222] gathering, or they may be incorporated into the compounds of
[464] their protectors and work as domestic servants and farm hands.
However, all of these Bantu-associated !Kung are in contact
131 with groups of more independent !Kung living inland. Ties
484 of real and fictive kinship and marriage link the river
602 dwelling !Kung with the !Kung of the dry interior. The loca-
582 tion of these non-!Kung peoples is shown in Map 6, p. 34.

131 Map 7 illustrates how the European and Bantu-associated !Kung form a ring of population around the peripheries of the northwest Kalahari. These settled areas enclose an interior of about 25,000 square miles, one third of which is in Bechuanaland and two thirds in South West Africa. Most of

621
161 The remaining 122 individuals were living with the Bantu. The
162 diet of these latter people consisted of a combination of
[262] Bushmen wild foods and the products of the Bantu cattle. The complete census of the 35 living units is shown in Table 3.

The 15 bands ranged in size from nine to 52 individuals. There were five small bands (of 9, 12, 12, 12, and 13 members), nine bands of intermediate size (of 17, 19, 19, 21, 22, 22, 24, 27, and 30), and one large band with 52 members. The average band had 20.7 members and the median band had 19 members. The presence of twin modes in band size (at 12 and 22 members respectively) is perhaps a function of the domestic cycle,[1] but its significance remains to be explained.

621 Each of the bands has a nucleus of individuals who have a territorial claim to the land they occupy and who tend to spend the greater part of the year in residence in their territory. These core individuals are usually old people whose descendents and their spouses make up the bulk of the
• [602] band's membership. Each of the larger bands has among its members one or more families who are collaterally or affinally related to the core individuals. These collaterals and affines do not express as strong a territorial claim to the band's land as do the core individuals and they tend to move around more frequently than do the core individuals. As

---

[1] I am indebted to Adam Kuper for this suggestion (personal communication).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 48]

361
312 was simple. Each waterhole supported one independent camp and each camp had its own territory.

Two of the waterholes, Mahopa and !xabe, lacked independent camps and therefore were not part of a territory.

[648] The Bushmen who drank at these waterholes lived in Bantu
[222] villages. They collected food in the adjacent territories of other camps such as Dobe !ubi and !angwa (see Map 14).

361 The sharing of a single territory by two or more camps
602 reflected the close kinship ties between the camps. This was obvious at Dobe where the leaders of the two camps were a brother and sister who often brought their two groups

[562] together to make a common camp. It was also obvious at !goše where the four camps were led by descendants and collaterals of one old woman. In previous years these four independent groups at !goše had lived in one large camp.

361 The territorial arrangements of the Dobe area !Kung Bushmen, like their group structures, were extremely flexible. Most territories overlapped with one or more adjacent territories. The boundaries of territories were vaguely defined and there were areas between territories which were not claimed by any of the camps. The Bushmen did not conceive of territories as areas of exclusive occupation. The concept of territorial defense was lacking. Each territory consisted, in the words of Mrs. Marshall, of "a waterhole and a side" (L. Marshall 1960:334). This point is illustrated in Map 14.

361
433 year, but that territorial arrangements are flexible enough to permit people to collect and eat freely in territories other than their own. Thus there were no instances recorded of the members of one camp going hungry while there was still food available at other camps.

361
433 Ecologically, the net effect of this flexibility of
602 territories is to produce an equitable distribution of food resources throughout the population. Kinship, real and fictive, is the social mechanism which makes possible this equitable distribution. Each independent camp maintains ties of kinship and marriage with members of every other independent camp. Implicit in every kinship tie is an obligation to share food and water. When relatives are living together, the obligations are manifested in daily exchanges of food and in mutual aid. When relatives are living at

361 different camps these obligations are latent. An individual
433 who visits another camp will invariably set up his or her hut
602
574 beside the hut of the member of the other camp to whom he or she has the closest kinship tie. The visitor is secure in the knowledge that the members of the camp will respect his or her claim to the resources of the area.

The principles of intercamp visiting will be illustrated by an example from the Dobe camp. N!ain!a, a woman about 55 years old, is a member of the Dobe camp. She is a younger

361 433 602 574 sibling of the leaders of the two Dobe camps, and therefore has an unquestionable claim to the Dobe resources. N!ain!a has two married daughters whom she frequently visits. One lives at !angwa and the other at Bate. These two daughters and their husbands make reciprocal visits to Dobe about once a month. N!ain!a has a classificatory uncle at !ubi. During the winter she would make daily trips to collect the Baobab fruits that are available only at !ubi. Her uncle, in turn, would make reciprocal visits to collect the vegetable ivory fruits which are abundant around Dobe. Thus N!ain!a maintains active claims in three of the territories adjacent to her own.

N≠eysin!a (N!ain!a's older brother) is unlike N!ain!a in that he prefers to remain in his home territory rather than visit other camps. N≠eysin!a's kinship ties with members of other camps are numerous but the reciprocal obligations implicit in these kinship ties remain latent because N≠eysin!a rarely visits his relatives in other camps.

361 Inter-territorial visiting is perhaps the most important single principle of land utilization among the Dobe area Bushmen. 311 Concerning land utilization <u>within</u> the individual territory, three significant features should be noted.

First, each of the territories borders on an uninhabited hinterland of indefinite size (see Map 14). Because of this, it is difficult to derive an estimate, in square miles, of the

132
221 this account of the seasonal round has come full circle to the starting point.

312
433 In summary, there are, in effect, only three basic sets of subsistence conditions for the Bushmen:

1. Water everywhere - Food everywhere
2. Water limited - Food abundant
3. Water limited - Food scarce.

221
312
433 When the first set of conditions prevail during the rains of November through March, Bushman life is sweet. The camps
[628] can live near the most concentrated food sources within their
[574] territory, or share in the food supply of neighboring camps,
[602] or easily undertake the long trips to visit relatives at distant waterholes.

When the second set of conditions prevail, from April through July, freedom of movement is more restricted but food is still abundant enough to make life comfortable.

When the third set of conditions prevail, from August through October, the Bushmen must resort to increasingly arduous tactics in order to maintain a good diet, or, alternatively they must content themselves with foods of less desirability in terms of abundance, ease of collecting and nutritive value.

It is during the three lean months of the year that the Bushmen life approaches the precarious conditions that have

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

obvious from the fact that although several chiefs were present, there was no common supreme chief.[1] Such gatherings are only temporary in nature, and produced by some special circumstance. They cannot therefore be regarded as indicative of the normal groupings of the Bushmen.

Social Structure of the Band

Within the band the only division is into families. The family among the Bushmen consists of a man and his wife or wives, together with their dependent children. It is a unit of outstanding importance in their social and economic life. The members of a family usually live together in one hut; the children until they are mature remain under the direct control of their parents, are nourished and are educated by them; husband and wife jointly contribute to the maintenance of their household, and the domestic tasks and industries are apportioned between them according to fixed custom. The family, moreover, has much freedom of movement, and, as already mentioned, single families will often roam about separately for a while within the territory of their band.

The relationship between the different families constituting a band is seldom defined clearly by the various observers. In particular the information available about the kinship organization of the Bushmen is very inadequate. Miss Bleek has recently published lists of relationship terms for each of the three main linguistic groups defined by her.[2] From these it appears that among all the Bushmen there are, in addition to various descriptive terms of relationship, also certain terms applied not to individuals but to whole groups of different relatives, while still others are used reciprocally between people standing in a particular relationship to each other. Relationship terms of the last two types, when found in other societies, are usually indicative of a definite organization of the community on the basis of kinship; and it is probable therefore that some such organization exists among the Bushmen as well. Unfortunately the lists given by Miss Bleek appear to be drawn from vocabulary sources rather than from an actual study of kinship itself, and cannot therefore be used with any degree of confidence. In any case they throw

[1] Op. cit., 138, 155. It should be mentioned here that the figures given by Kaufmann are, as a rule, far in excess of those given by other writers of about the same time and on the same district (e.g. Müller, German official estimate), and cannot therefore be accepted without question.

[2] "Bushman Terms of Relationship," *Bantu Studies*, ii (1924), 57–70.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

but little light on the social organization of the people, since the information given about the rights and duties regulating the conduct towards one another of people related either by consanguinity or through marriage is somewhat meagre. But they suggest at least that there is much in the social life of the Bushmen which could be revealed by a careful study of the usages connected with kinship.

There is some evidence, however, to show that among the Cape and Namib Bushmen, who as we have seen live in very small groups, the members of such a group are as a rule all related either by consanguinity or through marriage. Of the Cape Bushmen, for example, Miss Bleek says elsewhere: "They live in small family groups, and have no chiefs. . . . Three or four huts stand together. In one is the father, in others his married children. At most eight or ten huts of connections were dotted about within a radius of a few miles from the water, but this is an institution of later days . . . (at marriage) sometimes the young couple build their hut near the bridegroom's father, sometimes near the bride's. They seem to keep the family groups fairly even."[1] The accounts given by Trenk and especially by Seydel of the social structure of the band among the Namib Bushmen are not nearly so definite, but on the whole seem to indicate a similar principle of grouping.[2]

This is also found among the !O Kung of Angola, where again the local groups are very small. The details given by Miss Bleek bring out very clearly the structure of these groups[3]: "The families living together are nearly always related; in two cases the men were brothers-in-law, in the first the sister of one man was the wife of the other, in the second the wives were half-sisters. A cousin of the wives and an aunt resided with them. At another place I found a father with his second wife and small children, a grown-up son with wife and children, and a grown-up daughter whose husband was temporarily absent. The next lot were uncle and nephews, then a mother with married daughter, with a nephew and step-son of the mother's. The last lot encountered, the horde on the Mushumbo, consisted of an old man with two sons, several grandsons both in the male and female line, a son-in-law and nephews and great-nephews, mostly brother's descendants. He introduced himself as the 'father' of them all. Chiefs are non-existent, but deference is paid to the

[1] *The Mantis and his Friends*, pp. viii, ix.
[2] Trenk, "Die Buschleute der Namib," 168, 170; Seydel, "Aus der Namib," 304.
[3] "Bushmen of Central Angola," 109.